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NOTES OF THE WEEK.

IT appears that our British cousins only care for arbitration when they can secure the trying of all cases before a partisan judge. They want to make sure of the verdict by securing the selection of a favorable judge before submitting questions in dispute to arbitration. If they cannot secure the appointment of a judge whom they can reasonably count upon to render a judgment in their favor, they do not want arbitration. They want to fix the Court before agreeing to abide by its decree. Thus when the treaty of arbitration provided for the selection of the odd arbiter, the arbiter with the casting vote and decisive voice, by the King of Sweden, they were anxious to see the treaty ratified; for they were sure that the arbiters selected by a monarch who owes a debt of gratitude to Great Britain, and surrounded by a monarchical environment would, invariably, incline favorably towards the British contention. But when the United States Senate amended the treaty by eliminating the clause providing for the selection of the umpire by the King of Sweden, our British cousins became indifferent, if not actually hostile, to the treaty.

Thus since the reporting of the Senate amendments the

London *Times* has taken occasion to characterize the treaty as an empty sham. The treaty, so desirable as agreed upon between Sir Julian Pauncefote and Mr. Olney, is no longer desirable. And why? Simply because it no longer gives an assurance of the appointment of a final arbiter friendly to England, no longer provides for the appointment of an umpire, who, looking through monarchical spectacles, can be reasonably counted upon to side with England and against the United States.

It was a signal triumph of British diplomacy to get Mr. Olney to agree to submit questions in dispute between Britain and America to a board of arbitration in which an arbiter appointed by the King of Sweden should have the casting vote. If the Senate had ratified the treaty as drawn up by Sir Julian Pauncefote and Mr. Olney, the United States would have been bound to submit all questions coming within the scope of the treaty to a partisan tribunal for settlement. Naturally our British cousins longed for the ratification of such a treaty, but the United States Senate did not walk into the diplomatic trap into which Mr. Olney had so guilelessly walked. Senators did not fancy the appointment of the King of Sweden as the guardian over our destinies, as the umpire of our disputes. So the clause of the treaty providing for the appointment of an arbiter by the King of Sweden to settle our disputes was dropped, much to that monarch's chagrin. His kingly pride was hurt, his honor was assailed, his fairness was called in question, and he took offense. So offended he is, indeed, that, if we can credit reports, he is about to refuse to appoint the fifth arbiter in the tribunal to which the Anglo-Venezuelan dispute over the Guianan boundary is to be submitted.

But it is not alone kingly pride that we have hurt in refusing to accept a treaty so drawn as to make King Oscar the arbiter over Anglo-American disputes. We have disappointed our British cousins, we have struck out the pivotal point in the treaty that constituted the triumph of British diplomacy. We have struck out the clause that British diplomats counted upon to secure the appointment of arbitral tribunals that could be relied upon to render their verdicts in favor of Great Britain. This pivotal clause out, Lord Salisbury does not care for the treaty, for it deprives Britain of the advantage in arbitration that he sought to gain. So the treaty without this clause is regarded by British diplomats as an "empty sham," for it leaves Britain with no assurance that she will not come out of arbitration second best. And Lord Salisbury wants to make sure that Britain will come out first best before agreeing to submit disputes to arbitration. If he can not make sure of this, he does not care to bind Britain and America with a treaty of arbitration. So there is reason to believe that he will refuse to accept the treaty as amended. The best thing the Senate can do is to refuse to ratify the treaty even as amended, and thus put the refusal or acceptance of the treaty beyond the British premier.

THERE is nothing to be gained by striving to make a frater-

nal bond of union out of an arbitration treaty framed in bad faith, and into which British diplomats entered with enthusiasm, not because of a desire to promote an equitable and peaceful settlement of disputes, but because, as it now appears, they saw in it the possibility of securing an easy settlement of all disputes in Britain's favor. This they sought to secure by fixing upon King Oscar of Sweden as the man to pick out the umpire to sit over all disputes.

As now amended, the treaty provides for the submitting of questions of difference involving sums of less than £100,000 to arbitral tribunals composed of three members, one selected by the United States, one by Great Britain, and the third by the first two while it provides for the ultimate submission of disputes involving larger sums to tribunals of five members, two appointed by Britain, two by the United States, and the fifth by the first four. If the first two or four, as the case may be, cannot agree upon the odd arbiter, a deadlock must result. As amended, the treaty does not provide a way of getting over such a deadlock. As originally framed, it was here the King of Sweden was to step in and appoint the odd arbiter. But the King of Sweden being eliminated, it being feared, and with reason, that he would appoint arbiters prejudiced to the British case, the ratification and promulgation of the amended treaty would give no assurance of the settlement of even the minor monetary disputes by arbitration.

And for the final settlement of questions of real moment no provision is made by the treaty, either as originally drafted or as now amended. The selection of a tribunal of six arbiters, three of whom shall be Judges of the Supreme Court of the United States or Justices of the Circuit Courts, and three of whom shall be members of the corresponding British courts, and the submission to this tribunal of the question in dispute is provided for. But the decree of this court is not to be considered binding on either party, unless arrived at by a majority of five to one. So it is quite clear that no disputes, save those that would find ready settlement through the ordinary diplomatic channels, would be likely to find settlement in the tribunal provided for by the amended Anglo-American arbitration treaty. The treaty is, then, but little more than a sentimentality; it can be of but little or no practical value. Its promulgation would be little better than a farce, and discussion of it by the Senate is little else than a waste of time.

Yet the treaty is being debated by the Senate at length and apparently with not a little acrimony. And here comes in another farce. The debate is being carried on behind closed doors and in secret session, yet the newspaper reports of the debate are as full as they would be if taken down in the reporters' gallery. In fact, there is no secrecy about the debate. A handful of Senators sought to have it discussed in open session, but the majority said no. Mr. Olney urged the Senate to carry on the debate behind closed doors, so that King Oscar would not hear the hard things said about him, and his feelings be further wounded. Whether or no Mr. Olney's advice carried weight with the Senate or not, we do not know; but neither his advice nor the vote of the majority of the Senate seems to have made any impression on the minority, who voted to debate the treaty in open session. At any rate, the debate seems to be treated as public property, and King Oscar's feelings are bound to be hurt. Some Senator or Senators do not seem to have any regard for King Oscar's feelings; or, perhaps it is a phonograph in the reporter's gallery that is so unfeeling as to treasure up for the public ear all the unkind things said of the monarch on whom Lord Salisbury thought he could rely for the appointment of an umpire who would see Britain got more than fair play.

THE SENATE has abandoned the Nicaraguan Canal subsidy bill, and put the Bankruptcy bill on the calendar in its place. A

general bankruptcy law, such as will secure to unfortunate debtors a fair chance to recuperate their fortunes and put them in the way of paying their creditors, is much needed. It is not many years since that men were imprisoned for debt, yet now, imprisonment for debt is regarded not only as unjustifiable cruelty, but the height of folly. But in merely protecting unfortunate debtors from imprisonment, we have not done them justice, neither have we protected the interests of creditors. To prevent an unfortunate debtor from acquiring the capital he needs to carry on production, to deprive him of the right to accumulate property, and thus prevent him from getting ahead in the world and increasing his earning ability, is but one degree less reprehensible than to incarcerate a man for debt.

We cannot deprive a bankrupt of his tools, prevent him from acquiring new, and then expect him to recoup his fortunes and pay his creditors. Yet this is just what we do. A farmer meets with misfortune, and we strip him of his farm, his cattle, his very tools. Thus deprived of the ability to carry on production on his own account, he must hire himself out to some one who can supply him with the instruments of production. But our injustice to the bankrupt farmer does not stop here. We fasten him down to work as a farm hand for the rest of his life. If we secured to him his earnings he might save out of his wages until he accumulated enough to buy tools and stock, rent a farm, and again enter into production on his own account. But this we make impossible; for the moment he lays by any property, some old creditor will come down on it with an attachment, and it will be sold to meet an old debt. If we protected the bankrupt in the enjoyment of his new earnings, he might re-establish himself, increase his earnings, and thus in time get in shape to pay his old debts. But we deny him this protection, and thereby we diminish his earning capacity and make it well-nigh impossible for him ever to pay his debts. So not only is the bankrupt but the creditor hurt. The interests of both would be best promoted by securing to the debtor the use of his earnings and letting him pay his creditors when he could do so without taking from the capital he has need of in production.

The lot of the bankrupt manufacturer and merchant is the same as that of the farmer. By permitting creditors to seize their earnings made after bankruptcy, we make it impossible for unfortunate debtors to gather the capital they need to carry on enterprise on their own account; we force them to hire themselves out to others, or do business under other's names; we make it impossible for them to make the most profitable use of their time; we shut them off from engaging in production on their own account, and reaping the larger profits of such production, and we thus diminish, if not destroy, their ability to recuperate their fortunes and pay their creditors. What we greatly need is a national bankruptcy law that will secure to bankrupts, after they have assigned their property, the full enjoyment and free use of their future earnings. Such a law would enable bankrupts to start life anew, it would enable them to gather the capital to start business again on their own account, increase their earnings, and, in time, voluntarily pay their creditors.

THE immigration bill sent back by the Senate to Conference Committee and amended so as to keep out only those immigrants over sixteen years of age who are illiterate, and further amended so as to admit the illiterate wives and children of men who can pass the educational test and are otherwise qualified, is on a fair way to become a law. Just what check it will put to immigration is hard to tell. It will affect the immigration from the United Kingdom and Northern Europe to no appreciable extent, and probably place no material check to the immigration of Russian Jews. As first reported from conference the bill aimed to exclude these undesirable immigrants by requiring that all immigrants over sixteen years of age, to be admissible, should

be able to read and write the English language or the language of their native or resident country, which for the Russian Jews would have been the language of the Czar, a language which but few of them can read and write. But, in thus aiming to exclude the Russian Jews, it was found that numbers of desirable immigrants would be excluded, and so the Senate sent the bill back to conference to be amended so as to make admissible all immigrants otherwise qualified who could read or write any language. So the law will effect only those immigrants who are illiterate. This test will check the immigration from Italy and Austria-Hungary by perhaps one-half; it will probably affect immigration from other countries but little. The test provided in the law would have excluded of last year's immigrants probably something over 50,000, or about one-seventh of the whole.

THE gold contractionists do not feel secure in their victory. They recognize that the numbers of those opposing themselves to all schemes of currency monopoly are more numerous than ever, and they fear that those whom they defeated in the last campaign will turn the tables on them in the next. This is made apparent by the steps they are taking to continue the campaign for gold. They have set out under Mr. Hanna's guidance to get control of the press of the country. Of the metropolitan papers, there are few that are not controlled by the currency monopolists. It is the great raft of smaller papers that Mr. Hanna aims to reach and control. And how is he going about it? What inducement is he holding out to the country papers to advocate the gold standard, and anything else Mr. Hanna sees fit? Mr. Hanna's reported offer, as Chairman of the Republican National Committee, is practically to pay half the cost of publication of all the country papers that will agree to serve him. His proposition is not to pay them money, but to furnish them with sheets printed on one side, so that all they will have to do in getting out their papers will be to set up the local matter and print it on the other side. In other words, half the composition and half the press work will be furnished them. These printed sheets, or "patent insides" as they are called, will contain from one to three columns of "gold matter," and the other columns will be filled with various timely topics of information, and perhaps a story or two, such as will attract the general reader. These "patent insides" are to be furnished, as we are told, to thousands of weekly and daily papers, the purpose being to keep it up during the coming four years.

Thus by practically assuming half the cost of printing such country papers as will lend themselves to the currency monopolists, it is hoped to solidify them in advocacy of the schemes of the moneyed interests. The outlay required will be enormous, but the task of driving a country where universal suffrage must be counted with into the taking up of a monetary system that aims, through grinding producers down to poverty, to build up a moneyed oligarchy on the enslavement of the many, is no child's play. The outlay must be made or the game will be lost. The people must be deprived of their organs, otherwise the purposes of the moneyed interests will be pointed out and the great producing classes will rise with irresistible power and overthrow the machinations of the growing oligarchy.

BUT that those bent on aggrandizing themselves at the expense of the many should fret at the enormous expenditures they are required to make to keep themselves in power is natural. They see that there is one way, and only one way, to escape these expenditures, and that is to overthrow our republican institutions and methods so that they will not have to sugar their schemes and lay them before the great body of our people for ratification. But it is harder to get men to vote for the overthrow of the Republic than it is to get them to vote their own impoverishment. Therefore, to attain the desired end, the restriction of

suffrage and the overthrow of the Republic, the rising oligarchy must go about it in a circumspect way.

The surrender of governmental powers by Congress to commissions, and the substitution of government by commission for government by Congress, is a step in this direction that seems possible of attainment, for men who would revolt at the ultimate end can be induced to urge this step. So we have a currency commission urged to prepare all monetary legislation, and a tariff commission to make changes in tariff schedules.

Thus we have urged the establishment of a new governmental department, of Commerce and Industry, with which move, we are told, Mr. McKinley is in cordial sympathy. Mr. Ferdinand W. Peck, of Chicago, who went to Canton to speak to Mr. McKinley of this proposition of the "National Business Men's League," tells us Mr. McKinley was deeply interested in the idea, which, Mr. Peck thought, met with his cordial approbation. And then Mr. Peck adds, "it was also suggested that a highly useful and important adjunct of this proposed Department would be a permanent Tariff Bureau, the function of which should be to gather and collate all statistics bearing on revenue laws and to look after the work of tariff revision. The ultimate purpose of the Tariff Bureau would be, of course, to remove a source of perennial disturbance to business by taking the tariff out of politics."

Thus would the power of the people to control legislation be restricted, their power to govern themselves narrowed, and thus one step would be taken towards the tearing down of our republican institutions.

WITH the simmering down of the senatorial contests, it has become quite evident that the Republicans will not be able to control the Senate for either a monopoly tariff or monopoly currency legislation. There remain but four seats to be filled, and the parties in the Senate now stand: Republicans, 42; Democrats, 33; Populists, 6, and Silver Protectionists, 6. The Republicans are yet lacking, therefore, of three votes to control the Senate. And to get these three votes there is no possibility. One of the seats to be filled is that of Mr. Call, of Florida. It is certain that if he is not elected to succeed himself, some other silver Democrat will be. A second seat is that of Mr. Kyle, of South Dakota, and no Republican stands a chance of securing this seat. It will go to Senator Kyle or some fusionist. So there are only two seats that there is any possibility of filling with Republicans. And the possibility in both cases is slim.

After the 4th of March there will be a vacancy in the Senate from Kentucky, the last legislature having failed to elect. This being the case, Governor Bradley cannot appoint a Senator, and he fears to call the legislature in special session, for there is no certainty what it would do if called. So the chance of getting a Republican Senator from Kentucky is not of the brightest. The other seat to be filled or left vacant is that of Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, and it seems destined to be left vacant, the legislature refusing to organize for the election of a senator.

So there is but little likelihood of the Republicans increasing their voting strength in the Senate beyond 42. They have absolutely no chance of securing a majority. So Mr. Gage will be constrained to forego the application of his currency remedies, for which the suffering patient will be thankful, for his remedies are calculated to bleed the patient to death. As a Chicago correspondent writes: "Our Dr. Gage is like the good doctors who stood over the dying bed of George Washington. They were, I hope, good men, and worked up to their knowledge, and bled the unhappy man to death. Gage is anxious to have the lancet put into his hands, and will do the same feat. It all reminds me of friends surrounding the bedside of a man with a compound fracture of the leg. They feed him and give him good drinks, keep him warm and quiet him with opiates—but do not set the broken leg."

THE House Committee on the Pacific Railroads got some very sound advice last Monday, and from a very unexpected source. Mr. Stuyvesant Fish, President of the Illinois Central Railroad, appeared before the Committee and suggested that the Government foreclose on the Union Pacific and Central Pacific Railroads at the same time, and make them public highways, over which all connecting roads would have equal rights. Our Government has assumed control over the waterways of the country for the benefit of all the people, and large sums of public money are annually expended to maintain the usefulness of such waterways in the interest of commerce and keep them open to navigation for the vessels of all men. It would appear that Mr. Fish would have the Government assume the same attitude in the keeping open of the Pacific Railroads as it does in the keeping open of our rivers, save that he would have the Government charge the connecting roads for running their trains over its Pacific road. He would have the Government keep the roadbed in order and the road open without prejudice to all competing roads, permitting them to run their own trains over the Government's road on the payment of a fixed and reasonable price. In short, he would have the Government keep the roadbed in order and permit the competing roads to supply the through service, thus keeping, as far as might be, the Government out of the business of transportation. Mr. Fish advocated this procedure on the ground that it would give equal rights to all concerned, as was intended in the original act.

* MR. CHAUNCEY MITCHELL DEPEW "is willin'," not to say more than willing, to serve as Ambassador to the English Court. If special gifts and graces, supplemented by a resurrectionary memory for forgotten Millerisms, constituted the chief qualifications for a mere social sinecure, his claim could not be disputed. That he possesses the higher powers of oratory, business shrewdness, and some crude capacity for diplomatic statesmanship may also be admitted, but he has not attempted to develop these. From the days of Adams and Motley to those of Lowell and Phelps, the English people were accustomed to American Ambassadors who worthily sustained and heightened the reputation of their country for lofty because not blatant patriotism, strengthened as well as graced by scholarliness and dignity that command profound respect and inspire the sincerest desire for closer national friendship. In Mr. Depew the English people at large see only the ideal representative of American humor and smart politicianism. They do not take him seriously, except as the star guest at dinners where funny stories and flattery make a piquant dessert. The times and the outlook call for an Ambassador endowed with the weightier qualities of strong statesmanship and stalwart patriotism.

ENGLISH politics, foreign and domestic, are not the least likely to disturb the comfortable, not to say jubilant, frame of mind which the people have decreed shall be the fashion from now until next winter. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach has ruffled the French bird's feathers, never a difficult experiment, but there will be no consequences worth noting, because England knows better than to provoke serious feeling, because France knows better than to take a leap into the dark yet awhile, and because Russia and Germany know better than to stir up a blaze while their own houses are smouldering. The glamor of the royal jubilee hangs over England like a golden sunset, and even lovers forget to quarrel when the evening sky is all aglow. Parliament will enjoy its fill of squabbling and croaking till the May flowers smile and the zephyrs of early summer breathe the spirit of peace. After May-Day, woe betide the unhappy politician who tries to set political duty over social pleasure. It is going to be Merrie England once again, just for the summer season, with feasts in the streets and rivers of ale, as in the olden time which distance makes so charming. But the poor will still be with them, and

the test of jubilation will come when it is known what royalty and commonalty have jointly done for the permanent benefit of sufferers.

IF Queen Victoria has the secret of reading her loyal people's thoughts, she would graciously celebrate her Diamond Jubilee by abdicating the throne. Of course, there will be no public petitions to this end, nor even any very loud whispering, but the prayer goes up unspoken. A better sovereign there has not been, nor scarce could be, save in one respect. If the Queen of England has failed in any regal duty, it has been her virtuous innocence of any approach to the prodigality which is less a vice in royalties than in common mortals. Her handsome allowance would have done more good if spent than it has done saved. The utilitarian worth of a modern court lies in its lavishness, if crowned heads may be supposed as much above the doctrines of political economy as they assume to be above responsibility for wrong-doing. London has mourned, in a hard cash sense, these thirty and more years the death of the Prince Consort. When London gets pinched, all England pulls a wry face. Had the Queen been less model a woman than she is, she would long ago have heard growlings about queenly duties of social state unperformed, and the economies thereby made, remaining unbalanced by equivalent benefactions. The Prince has completed his oat-planting, he has waited to the eleventh hour, he has geniality, generosity, tact and popularity; and if his royal mother wishes to emulate him in these, she will make way for the new King of England.

The Apostle Paul found things stormy when he visited the island of Crete, and in his letter to Titus he eases his mind by diplomatically quoting the opinion given of the natives by "one of themselves, even a prophet of their own, who said, the Christians are always liars and evil beasts." Then he boldly adds, "this witness is true." Whatever improvement may have overtaken their habit of disguising the truth in the course of nineteen centuries, it must be confessed that they have managed to hand down a goodly share of cat-and-dog quarrelsomeness to the present generation. They are never happy but when fighting, and a fight is not reckoned at its best until it develops into a massacre. The population is made up of Moslem Greeks and Christian Greeks, either mixture being bad in the simple, and terribly explosive when mixed. The island belongs to Turkey, though it is coveted by Greece, as if she had not trouble enough of her own. Home rule has been tried, but failed, because there was too little home and too much rule. The conditions are such that there is a very poor prospect for millennial peace in Crete until Greek Mohammedan and Greek Christian shall have exterminated each other to make room for their betters.

BISMARCK declines to die, because it would gratify the grandson of the Emperor whom he created. He is under the delusion that he suffers chiefly "from the want of love of life," but this implies senility, whereas the thing that troubles William II is the mental juvenility, agility, irrepressibility of his wonderful ex-Chancellor. So assured is the Emperor of his own inferiority in these three gifts compared with his old master (though young William is a wonder for his years) that from dictating and threatening he has at last condescended to implore Bismarck to hold his peace. Exceedingly inconvenient to His Majesty have been these blabbings of secret intrigues and understandings by the man who got them up. The retired head of the concern refuses to stay retired, and declines to be a silent partner. The only way to muzzle Bismarck is to restore him to power, or rather to office; for he wields more power out of it than he would in. As this is out of the question, the German peoples stand aghast at the prospect of blood-brought unity melting away into discord between figure-heads, imperilling the nationality

which Frederic might have welded into a lasting triumph of sense and statecraft. The present Emperor's life not being worth a ten years' purchase, and Bismarck's death being sure to kindle furious fires, the outlook for the empire must be appalling to the contemplation of her wisest statesmen.

THE evil genius of militarism, which we all join in deplored when we talk of the armed rivals in Europe, might be trusted to find scope enough for its mischievous work among us without the aid of certain churches. In the City of Brotherly Love the other night there was a grand muster of the Boys' Brigades under the Presidency of Ex-Governor Pattison, who occasionally occupies the Methodist pulpit, the purpose being "to demonstrate their proficiency in military tactics and their training in Bible lessons," which astutely framed programme does not necessarily include the spirit of New Testament teaching. There has never yet been any lack of militant patriotism in the American people when the need arose, and the country is not in immediate danger of foreign invasion by other than illiterate immigrants from the Orient. If it were, we do not quite perceive the strategical value of turning Sunday Schools into mimic battlefields for mild-hearted lads to play at soldiers in. More evident is the tendency of this half-and-half worldly-Christian fad to undo the good gotten in church and school. Boy-soldiering breeds new vanities and encourages the old, it makes dudes of weaklings and undermines the wholesome respect once felt for simple manliness without fuss and feathers.

A PARAGRAPH in our last week's issue told of the hauling of burdens by women and dogs in harness, as carried on in Germany to-day. Some thirty years ago dogs were to be seen pulling truckmen's carts in English towns. They do so still in Holland, and the dogs seem to enjoy rivalling the horses; but a law was then run through Parliament, forbidding the use of dogs harnessed to pull carts. On this being passed, a truckman, finding himself deprived of his "horse," bestirred his wits, like a good tactician, to evade a law he dared not break. The plan he adopted was this: the law forbade the dog to "pull" any cart, so the man simply turned the dog round, and harnessed him with his head where his tail used to be, so that the dog pushed, instead of pulled. As a fact, it took a whole year before that law was amended. Ever since that simple man's simple device, it has been observable that a growing percentage of laws in various legislatures have been passed, fitted with equally ingenious devices for getting themselves passed by, passed over, passed around, or passed clean through.

THE SALE OF THE REPUBLIC.

WAS the making of contributions to the Republican campaign fund equivalent to a purchase of governmental policies and favors by the princely contributors? It is assumed by those who gave, even asserted with much warmth by one of their organs, that it was. The moneyed interests subscribed liberally to the McKinley campaign fund; they regarded their contributions as the purchase money, the price demanded for the maintenance of the gold standard and the right to exact an ever-increasing tribute from the producing classes; and having paid highly, they demand the delivery of the goods.

So, when some Republican Senators stand up in the Senate and urge international bimetallism, urge the overthrow of the gold standard by international agreement, and thus threaten to deprive the speculative cliques of the power to tax the community through the means of an appreciating dollar, the moneyed interests are up in arms. They cry fraud. They regard this effort on the part of Republican Senators to attain bimetallism through

international agreement as a breach of contract, and they want to know if those who solicited their contributions are going to permit Republican Senators to go back on the bargain that they—the moneyed interests—supposed they had sealed with the Republican party, when they handed over their contributions. A condition that they made precedent to the giving of their contributions was that the Republican party should bind itself to the maintenance of the gold standard without alteration or addition, and it was on this understanding that the contributions were given and received. This is what the New York *Nation* tells us, and when it finds those who represent the party that profited from the contributions, that was bought to take its position in advocacy of the gold standard by the promise of contributions, actually urging international bimetallism, it warms up to denounce such action as "a scandalous, almost a criminal, violation of political faith."

True, the Republican platform of 1896 recognized bimetallism, if it could be attained by international agreement, as desirable; so also is it true that in accepting the Presidential nomination on that platform Mr. McKinley pledged himself to strive after such an agreement. But all this goes for naught because campaign contributions were given on condition that the Republican party should wed itself irretrievably to the maintenance of the existing gold standard. What was paid for with money must be delivered; what was declared to be the policy of the party in the platform, but which those who contributed to the campaign fund demanded should be eliminated in the practical reading of the platform and considered as a dead letter put in the platform to catch votes, must be ignored.

It is natural that men should contribute of their earnings to carry on a campaign in advocacy of a policy that they believe will promote their well being. It is right that they should do so, and so long as the money they contribute out of their own earnings is used legitimately no one has the right to object. But when they take not of their own earnings, not out of their own moneys, but of the moneys of corporations, of financial institutions, of banks and trust companies, of even savings funds, take of moneys entrusted to their care, and use such moneys to corrupt a party, to purchase the policy of a party, to cause the leaders of a great party to betray it, and lead it into an abandonment of its principles, it is time to call a halt.

When the principles of parties can be bought and sold, when policies calculated to enrich the few and impoverish the many can be purchased, we have a rule of money, not of men; an oligarchy of wealth, not a republic. And it is to this estate that our Republic has been brought by the victory of the Republican party, a victory gained after the sale of its principles for gold, after it had turned on its proud record as the champion of human rights, and, in consideration of campaign contributions, become the champion of property rights.

Whether our people can throw off the oligarchy that rules through money, and the Republic, with renewed vigor and purity, be built up anew, remains to be seen. The hope of the country lies in the probity, justice and intelligence of the great majority of our people. The danger lies in their impoverishment. It is impoverishment of our producing classes that has undermined the Republic, it is the enslavement of our toiling millions, through growing impoverishment, that threatens its complete overthrow. An impoverished man, living from hand to mouth, and knowing that loss of employment will bring him face to face with starvation grows to fear the frown of his employer, he loses his independence, and does the bidding of his employer without the workshop as well as within. We knew intimidation of voters on a large scale during the last campaign, intimidation through fear of dismissal, and the more impoverished the wage-earner becomes the more potent must the power of the employer over his employee become, until at last the latter becomes his mere slave. So it is that the impoverishment of our productive

classes insidiously undermines the Republic, for, destroying the independence of men, it enables money to rule.

But born in the cradle of liberty, blessed with the birthright that is that of no other people, strong, despite the increased burdensomeness of mortgages and taxes, in the ownership of their homes to a degree enjoyed by no other people, and practiced to think for themselves, our producing classes are in a better position than those of any other country to discern, and, discerning, throw off the insidious weight that is grinding them down to the abject slavery of poverty. In this lies the hope of the disenthralment of our people from the yoke of the moneyed oligarchy that is growing up on their own impoverishment.

Our producing classes have the power to effect their own emancipation, for they have it in their power to remove the cause of their impoverishment and threatened enslavement. It rests with them to discern this cause, apply the remedy, and, from the groundwork of a prosperous and independent working population, free the country from the dictation of the moneyed oligarchy, and build up anew the Republic where men will be of more power than money.

But to accomplish this there must be unity among those who suffer from the rule of money. Without this unity, nothing can be accomplished. It will not do for those who suffer to follow those leaders, who, as tried politicians, are content to follow. They must seek out and follow leaders who have the courage and discernment to lead; who are ready and capable to take the responsibility of leadership. They must follow men who are ready and anxious to go forward; they must not wait for men who must be pushed forward.

There must be no uncertainty in the attack on entrenched oligarchy, or it will fail. The attack must be made with vigor, and must be directed by those who know the vulnerable points and who can make it effective. Therefore, the need of leaders who will lead, for strength must not be wasted in a blind struggle such as the struggle against the encroachments of oligarchy must become if directed by men, who, waiting to see which way the tide runs, must ever hesitate. Those who aim at self-preferment and hesitate to lead through fear of jeopardizing their political future cannot successfully lead in the struggle with oligarchy. Men who are prompted by love of country and humanity, not of self, men who are ready to sacrifice their political future must be found for leaders, or oligarchy will triumph. The man fitted to lead is not one who, through fear of jeopardizing his own position, clings to one issue, and endeavors to check the movement against oligarchy along lines that are, as yet, less clearly defined.

The struggle for emancipation must be led and encouraged, not checked and narrowed. To work for silver remonetization is well; it is a step towards the freeing of our producing classes from the burdens that grind them down, but it is not enough. It is not only through the medium of an appreciating dollar that centralized capital lays an unjust tribute on our people. The railroads are used as effective instruments in the taxing of the productive classes for the benefit of the moneyed interests. They are used as one of the weapons of centralized capital in the gathering, for the benefit of the few, of the fruits of the toil of the many. Therefore, Governmental ownership of the railroads is called for.

Moreover, it is not for a permanently appreciating dollar that the moneyed interest works. They want an appreciating dollar only as the stepping stone to something else, that something else being the control over our paper currency. They want an appreciating dollar until falling prices have made it impossible for their debtors to pay, and they have been enabled to take the property of their ruined debtors. Possessed of this property, they will want rising prices, and to get rising prices they will want currency expansion. But they will not want to expand the currency permanently. They will only want to keep prices rising until they have opportunity to sell at an advance the

property taken from their debtors at wreckage prices. This done, they will want falling prices again, such as will grind down to poverty the new set of hopeful producers, who have taken the property off their hands, and thus enable the moneyed interests to repeat the operation of fleecing the producing classes of the fruits of their toil.

So, through the banks they want to get control of the currency so that they can raise prices and depress prices at will. Such a passing of the control over our currency from the Government to the banks would place our producing classes at the abject mercy of the speculative cliques. A monopolization of our currency can therefore no more be tolerated than a monopolization of our railroads. The safety of our producing classes makes imperative the issue and control of our currency by the National Government just as it makes imperative the ownership and control of the railroads by the Government.

The campaign for emancipation must be made against the monopolization of our currency and railroads as untiringly as it is made for the remonetization of silver.

Let the campaign of the people be fought on these lines, and the Republic that has been sold will be redeemed; the leaders of the Republican party who, in consideration of campaign contributions, caused the party to abandon its principles, will be repudiated, and a new party whether it go by the name of Democratic, Populist or something else, a party having taken the abandoned position of the Republican party as the champion of human rights will triumph over the party that money has bought. Then no longer will we have to bow our heads in shame while Senators are berated for refusing to weld a party to a policy promised by those soliciting campaign subscriptions and understood as purchased by those making the contributions. Thus now do we find those who contributed to the McKinley campaign fund avowing that they contributed on the promise given in return by the campaign managers solemnly pledging and binding the Republican party to the maintenance of the gold standard without alteration or addition; we find them assuming that in giving their contributions they sealed a bargain whereby the Republican party was bound to maintain a policy that would enable them to exact an ever increasing quantity of produce from their debtors and thus rapidly recoup themselves for their contributions, and on this ground, that of breach of contract, we find the campaign contributors assailing those Republican Senators who work for international bimetallism.

Thus says *The Nation*, "the bimetallic speeches of Messrs. Hoar, Chandler and Allison are a scandalous, almost a criminal, violation of political good faith. If they had dared to make such speeches in the course of the campaign, Bryan would have been elected," which is to say, if they had dared to make such speeches the contributions that made possible Mr. McKinley's election would not have been made. "If what they say and aim at is true and desirable," continues *The Nation*, "Bryan should have been elected. That Senator Hoar is a Bryanite on the money issue he himself confessed in his garrulous, senile way, when he said that all who voted for Bryan thought, of course, just as he did about bimetallism. To point to the international conference clause of the Republican platform is beyond the mark." It was ordered to be repudiated by those making contributions, and it was treated as a dead letter, the issue being made on the maintenance of the gold standard, without alteration or addition. And then *The Nation* goes on to say: "On that issue the entire battle was fought, contributions asked, sound money co-operation from all sides invited, the business world appealed to." The business world responded with liberal contributions, and this sealed the bargain, and "therefore," adds *The Nation*, "the spectacle of Republican Senators leaping again into the free silver slough" after they had been bought, or rather their party had been bought, to stay out of it ". . . is one not only of unprecedent folly, but of

unparalleled baseness. It is a shameless betrayal of political trust." And then *The Nation* goes on to characterize those claiming allegiance to the Republican party and working for international bimetallism as cheats and hypocrites.

At the wrath of *The Nation* we are not surprised. For those Senators who are not ready to go along with the party that sold its principles for money, who are not ready to become parties to the delivery of the purchased goods, there is only one course to pursue. They could not prevent the abandonment of principles by the Republican party, they had not the courage to stand out against those who, in return for the promises of campaign contributions, covenanted to make, and did make the Republican party the party of property rights and human slavery. Therefore, the only course left to them is to get out of the party that has, for money, made of itself the tool of a moneyed oligarchy.

If Messrs. Chandler and Hoar and those who are honest bimetallists find the courage and discernment that they wanted at the time of the St. Louis convention, they will part company with the party that sold itself, and, selling itself, sold the Republic for gold.

A MONOPOLY OR PROTECTIVE TARIFF—WHICH?

IT seems that the Republican party is to tender us a monopoly, not a protective tariff. The trusts and moneyed interests contributed largely to the McKinley campaign fund, and they want their pay; the trusts demanding a monopoly tariff, and the moneyed interests strict adherence to the gold standard until such time as the Government may hand over to the banks the issue and control of our paper currency, after which they will be content to see the gold standard abandoned, for a standard of bank paper, would be much preferable to them.

In the appointment of Mr. Gage to the Treasury portfolio the moneyed interests see the realization of their dreams, they see the destruction of our greenbacks and the substitution of a bank currency over the volume of which the banks shall have control. And as the key to the value of money is the control over its volume they see this would put in the hands of the banks the power, by expanding and contracting the volume of currency, to raise and depress prices at will. So, should Mr. Gage succeed in bringing about the substitution of bank currency for our national currency the moneyed interests would be amply repaid for their contributions, for the grant, to the banks, of the power to raise and depress prices and thus exact such tribute from producers as they saw fit would soon enable the moneyed interests to reimburse themselves for their outlay. All that will stand in the way of the realization of their dreams will be Mr. Gage's powerlessness to bring about the end desired by the banks. The wanting of a monopoly over the currency will be found to be a very different thing than the getting of it.

And so will it be with a monopoly tariff. The trusts may want and work for a monopoly tariff, they may secure the aid of Mr. McKinley, as have the currency monopolists, but the tariff monopolists will come as far from getting a monopoly tariff as the currency monopolists will come from securing the exclusive issue and control over our currency. But the trusts have no more abandoned the hope of a monopoly tariff than have the moneyed institutions the hope of securing a monopoly over the currency. Indeed, having contributed so largely to the McKinley campaign fund, they assume the right to run the coming Administration to their liking. So we find the secretary of the Sugar Trust moving on Canton, engaging the assistance of Mr. Hanna, and pressing upon Mr. McKinley the selection of an Attorney-General, who can be counted upon to enforce anti-trust legislation with a degree of looseness that will deprive it of its force. Whether or not Mr. McKinley will ratify the selection of the Sugar Trust remains to be seen. It should occasion no surprise if he does, for a man who has lent himself to the fostering of a currency mo-

nopoly, as evinced in the selection of Mr. Gage as Secretary of the Treasury, may be expected to lend himself to the fostering of an industrial monopoly.

But though Mr. McKinley may tolerate and encourage the formation of trusts and monopolies by the appointment of an Attorney General who can be depended upon not to enforce the anti-trust laws, he cannot foster their growth by the building of a new tariff along monopolistic lines. A new tariff cannot be built without the aid of true protectionists, and a true protectionist cannot assist in the passage of a monopoly tariff. The Republicans who are ready to follow Mr. McKinley, whether right or wrong, who are ready to call a monopoly tariff a protective tariff at his bidding, and vote for its passage, will not be in a majority in the next Senate. With those Senators who believe that a tariff framed on true protective lines and considerate of all sections of the country would conserve the general weal, they will constitute the majority, but such Senators cannot be expected to support a tariff that is as repugnant to the protective principle as a monopoly tariff must be.

The protective system is designed to destroy, not to build up monopoly; it is designed to secure to men the greatest possible enjoyment of the fruits of their toil, and a tariff that is framed so as to build up monopoly and make possible the charging of consumers with monopoly prices must be distasteful to true protectionists. The line between a protective tariff and a monopoly tariff is sharp cut. The one protects the struggling producer against artificial foreign competition, and, by the building up of domestic industries, in competition with which the foreigner must sell his products, breaks the power of the foreign manufacturer to charge monopoly prices. The other, placing duties on importations that come in competition with the products of cliques of domestic producers, who, firmly established, have united among themselves to squeeze out nascent competitors and thus secure a monopoly of the market, fosters the building up not of domestic competition, but domestic monopoly. A protective tariff frees consumers from the grasp of foreign monopolists, while a monopoly tariff puts consumers at the mercy of domestic monopoly.

But a protective tariff does more than free consumers from dependence on foreign monopolists. So also does a monopoly tariff work more harm than the mere placing of consumers at the mercy of domestic monopoly. A monopoly levies a tax not alone on consumers through the exaction of high prices. It levies a tax on those employed in production through the forcing down of wages. It is with this double aim that trusts and monopolies are organized. The aim of those organizing them is to force down the cost of production on the one hand and push up prices on the other, thus increasing the margin of profit at the expense of wage-earners whose wage is cut and of consumers in general who are obliged to pay monopoly prices. How monopoly accomplishes this double end is quite clear. By controlling production a trust can dictate prices; it can say, Pay my price or go without; by controlling the labor market it can dictate wages; it can say, Work for my wages or remain in idleness. But how can the trusts control the labor market so that there are always more wage-earners seeking after jobs than there are places to fill? They can do so by arbitrarily restricting production and thus curtailing the demand for labor, and by the same curtailment they can make a scarcity in the supply of the monopolized products such as will enable them to hold up, if not advance prices.

Yet it would seem that it would be impossible for any clique of producers to long follow such a programme with success. It would seem that the artificially enhanced prices maintained for the monopolized products would lead to the springing up of competitors and the forcing down of prices through competition. But here comes in the power of monopoly, the power of firmly-established industries organized in trusts and possessed with the power given by great accumulations of capital, to crush

out rising competition. Monopoly of the market is profitable, and to maintain that monopoly a temporary sacrifice of profits can well be afforded. So, on the appearance of threatening competition, monopoly proceeds to destroy rising competitors by underselling them. And this underselling the nascent competitors cannot stand, for, not having accumulations of capital to fall back upon, they cannot go down into their pockets as can those who have pooled their accumulations of wealth. So the nascent competitors are constrained to abandon the struggle, centralized capital organized in trusts and monopolies buys up their establishments, and then, having regained the precious monopoly, proceeds to recoup itself for its losses by the charge of monopoly prices.

Thus it is that monopoly works whether rooted in foreign or domestic soil. When rooted in domestic soil we could, though we don't, reach it by direct legislation, but it is not in our power to declare foreign combines and trusts to be illegal and legislate them out of existence. We must reach them in some other way. And it is just here, in the uprooting of the hold taken by foreign monopolies on our soil, that we can make advantageous use of the protective system.

As we have said, the enhancement of prices at which monopoly aims acts as an incentive to the building up of competitive industries, and so the charge of high prices by the foreign monopolist for his products might, under natural conditions, be counted upon to lead to the rapid development of our resources and the building up of domestic competition. But on natural conditions we cannot count, for the foreign monopolist, bent on holding his monopoly, is ever ready to enter on a cut-throat competition, with a view to wiping out domestic competitors as soon as they make their appearance. And here comes in the possibility of using the protective tariff as an effective weapon. By placing duties on imports of those things we could as well make at home, but which we had been constrained, owing to lack of domestic manufactories, to buy abroad at monopoly prices, we have made the artificial competition by which the foreign monopolist ever seeks to keep control of a market so costly that for him to enter upon the plan of cut-throat competition would have resulted not in the destruction of his competitor, but in the cutting of his own throat. Thus under the protection of a customs tariff, industries have grown up and become firmly rooted that otherwise would have been stifled at their birth, and as they have grown up the power of the foreign manufacturer to exact monopoly prices from our consumers has been broken.

But it is not in this alone that the protective system has benefited our people. The building up of domestic industries has made a home market for a large part of our agricultural products, and thus, to a degree, released our farmers from dependence on a foreign market. The nearer producer and consumer can be brought together, the closer the factory is brought to the farm, the smaller must be the cost of distributing the wealth produced, and the smaller this cost the greater must be the benefit derived by the farmer and manufacturer from production. The smaller the share of produce with which the farmer must part to pay for the transportation of his surplus products to market the larger will be the share he can appropriate to his own uses. Thus, the farmer in Pennsylvania, with the market at his door, may get twenty cents a bushel for his corn, while the farmer of Nebraska, lacking a home market, is fortunate if he can sell his corn for eight or ten. In short, the Nebraska farmer must give two-thirds of the value of his crop at New York for transporting it to market, while the Pennsylvania farmer has to give but one-fifth.

So it is clear how the diversification of industries and the building up of a home market benefits the farmer. It does not pay the farmer to raise crops that he must seek a market for five thousand miles away and there sell them in competition with the food products of the world. What he needs is a home market,

so that he will be saved the cost of shipping his products five thousand miles. If he found a consumer at his door and this cost was divided between the farmer and the consumer, went into the pockets of the farmer and the pockets of a manufacturer established in his neighborhood, how much better off would both farmer and manufacturer be.

To take a bushel of wheat from the fields of Minnesota to Liverpool costs no less than thirty cents. In other words, the British consumer pays thirty cents a bushel more for his wheat than the Minnesota farmer receives. And on the other hand, the Minnesota farmer pays much more for the imported British manufactures he uses than the British manufacturer receives. Bring the manufacturer nearer to the Minnesota wheat-raiser and this margin between the price paid for wheat by the consumer and received by the producer will be diminished, thus putting more money in the hands of the farmer and reducing the cost paid by the farmer for manufactured goods, while increasing the price received by the manufacturer, and enabling the factory hand to get more bread for less money. In short, reduce the waste in the distribution of wealth, which can best be accomplished by bringing producer and consumer together, and we must promote prosperity. The accomplishment of this is the end of a true protective tariff.

But a tariff that extends protection to industries that have monopolized production does not promote this end. A monopoly ever tends to centralize not diversify industries, and such centralization leading, as it must, to waste in the distribution of wealth, cannot conserve the general weal. But besides working to this absolute waste of wealth, a monopoly leads to an unjust distribution of wealth, those who control production and the labor market through its agency profiting at the expense of consumers and wage-earners. Therefore, a tariff that fosters monopolies is indefensible, for a monopoly tariff is as detrimental to the general weal as a protective tariff is beneficial.

No true protectionist can, therefore, lend his aid in passing a monopoly tariff, and as the Senators who will be bound by party ties to advocacy of any measure championed by the president-elect and the party caucus will not constitute a majority in the next Senate, no monopoly tariff can be passed. Contributors to a campaign fund may demand a monopoly tariff as they demand a monopoly of the currency; they may assert with choler that, in making their contributions, they did so with the understanding that they were purchasing a monopoly tariff and a currency system to their liking, and they may reproach those who solicited their contributions with going back on their bargain; but all their reproaches, all their insistence, can avail them naught, for those who received the contributions have not the power to pass a monopoly tariff or force the retirement of the greenbacks; they have not the ability to fulfill their promises.

If the Republican party insists on a monopoly tariff, there will be no change in tariff laws; if it will break away from the grasp of the campaign contributors and tender us a true protective tariff, and if it will accept an amendment to that tariff, opening our mints to free silver and extending to farmers the only protection that can avail them anything, then a tariff can be enacted. Such a tariff might not serve to pay campaign debts, it might not please the campaign contributors, it would not enable a favored few to wax fat on the impoverishment of the many, but it would conserve the general weal, it would bring joy to our producing classes and renewed prosperity to our country.

It is as idle to attempt to build up prosperity with a monopoly tariff as it is to pass it. So also must even a protective tariff fail to bring renewed industrial activity and prosperity unless made truly protective by the attachment of an amendment opening our mints to free-silver coinage. It is not from a flood of foreign goods that we suffer. It is not competition with foreign manufacturers, made possible by the tearing down of tariff barriers, that has brought ruin to our manufacturers, but the impoverishment

of our agricultural classes, an impoverishment directly attributable to the discarding of silver as money, and the raising up of a premium on gold as measured by silver that has been paid as a bounty into the pockets of our competitors and enabled them to undersell us.

Our manufacturers have indeed felt European competition more severely, but this accentuated competition is the result, not of greatly enlarged imports, but of the forcing of foreign products, together with the products of our own mills, on to our restricted markets. Our imports of manufactured goods for the last fiscal year were larger than the year before, but they showed no marked increase over imports during the years in which the McKinley tariff was in force—indeed a falling off as compared with the first year of the McKinley tariff. Thus for the fiscal year 1891 our imports of manufactured goods ready for consumption were valued at \$147,428,403, and our imports of articles partially manufactured and to be worked up in shape for consumption in our factories at \$109,262,436, or a total of \$256,690,839, while for the last fiscal year our imports of these classes of goods were valued at \$160,203,601 and \$79,451,708, respectively, or a total of \$239,655,309. Thus there was an actual decrease in the value of imported manufactures, and an increase of less than \$13,000,000 of manufactured goods ready for consumption.

Surely this increase of \$13,000,000 could not have been the cause of industrial stagnation. Our manufacturers lost a market, not of \$13,000,000, but of hundreds of millions. The market for manufactured goods was not lost to our competitors. It simply dried up through the impoverishment of our farmers.

Clearly, we cannot make a market for our manufacturers by simply raising tariff duties. We must build it up by building up the ability of our farmers to buy. In no other way can we make a market for the products of our factories. Therefore, before we can do anything effective towards raising manufacturing depression we must raise our farmers out of the slough of impoverishment into which competition with their silver-using competitors has thrust them. These competitors are enjoying a bounty of 100 per cent. in the shape of a premium on gold. It is this bounty that is enabling them to undersell our producers, and this bounty we must remove before our agricultural classes can know prosperity. And, as it is only by the re-establishing of bimetallism that we can remove this bounty, and as our manufacturers can know no prosperity while our farmers are impoverished, no tariff that does not embody an amendment opening our mints to free silver coinage can bring about the desired ends.

Bimetallism and a protective tariff, not a monopoly tariff, is what the country needs. If the Republicans insist on thrusting upon an unwilling people a distasteful monopoly tariff, they will get no tariff at all. It must be a true protective tariff or none.

DOUBT, FEAR AND PANIC.

"OUR country," says the *New York Times*, "with its great resources, which are even yet far from their full development, can stand mistaken methods of taxation. It can even stand reckless extravagance in its expenditures and a large ratio of waste. But it cannot stand doubt and fear as to the standard of money. These not only make periods of panic and depression more sure to come, but they act as a sort of slow and continuous panic all the time, paralyzing energy and depriving industry and intelligence and enterprise of their just rewards."

It is very true that "doubt and fear as to the standard of money" cause panic and depression and lead to paralysis of industry and enterprise. But what is the doubt and fear of our money as a measure of value that causes a sort of slow and continuous panic all the time? What is it that throws men into a panicky haste to sell the products of labor and causes would-be

purchasers to hesitate, and hoard their funds? Is it the fear that our money will depreciate and prices rise, or is it fear that our money will go on appreciating and prices falling?

Assuredly it is the fear of appreciation and falling prices. When the products of labor evince a tendency to fall in price, men strive to dispose of such goods; when the fall in prices becomes marked and rapid and threatens to continue, men endeavor, with panicky haste, to convert goods into money, so that they may escape loss from the further fall in prices that they fear. And so it is with money. When money is falling and prices rising there is no profit in storing it up. On the contrary, there is a loss, and as the only escape from such loss is through converting money into products, men are anxious to buy. And the more rapidly money depreciates and prices rise, the more anxious are men to convert their money into property, so that they may profit by the rise. Obviously, then, it is not the fear of a depreciated dollar and high prices that subjects the country to a sort of slow and continuous panic, but the fear of an appreciating dollar and falling prices. Men are not feverishly anxious to sell when prices are rising, and they profit from holding on to their goods, but quite the contrary. They are feverishly anxious to sell only when prices are melting away with alarming persistence, and when by holding on to such goods they suffer loss with the shrinkage in value.

It is, then, not the fear of a depreciated silver dollar which, since Mr. McKinley's election, is certainly remote enough, but the presence of an appreciating gold dollar that threatens the commercial world with disaster. Money is hoarded in the financial centers, but not because men fear it will depreciate. It is hoarded because men are convinced that it will appreciate and because they know that as it appreciates all the property in which they might invest their money must depreciate. And men do not care to buy property when they believe that to-morrow and the next day they can buy cheaper than to-day. So prices falling, men buy from hand to mouth, and money accumulates in the financial centers to seek investment, not in property, but in debts, and as a consequence, debts, bonds and mortgages rise, while property falls.

There is a plethora of money in the financial centers, yet for producers there is none, for they cannot prosper in the face of falling prices, and to a man who is travelling the road to bankruptcy owners of money do not care to lend. And this restriction of loans to producers, directly caused as it is by falling prices, can only accentuate the fall, for when producers find customary credits cut off and they are called upon to pay maturing obligations, they are forced to realize on their property. And as a forced sale means a sacrifice sale, prices melt away.

Yet, the faster prices melt the harder is it to find a market, the harder is it for producers to realize on their property, for those catering to consumers restrict their purchases to the actual demands of trade and cut down the stocks of goods they carry to the narrowest limits, absolutely refusing to make purchases beyond their immediate needs unless at wreckage prices. This is only natural, for the larger the stock of goods carried the larger must be the loss from shrinkage in value. So it is that a fall in prices is ever the precursor of panic and disaster.

To a rise in prices panic is never attributable, for when prices are rising, producers can readily find a market for their products, they have no fear of a curtailment of credits, and they are not driven to the sale of their property at sacrifice prices. When prices are rising, producers suffer no loss from depreciation in the value of their products; on the contrary, they profit from the constant enhancement in value, and the profits of industry are correspondingly enlarged. The same is the case with the merchant. In place of seeing his profits shrink away through depreciation of his stock, he sees his profits grow as his stock, with the rise in prices, becomes more valuable. The result is, his profits are enlarged, and as his profits grow, so grows his

credit. Consequently, he is not brought face to face with a curtailment of credits as he is when prices are falling, and he is not placed under the necessity of realizing on his property at inconvenient times. So we do not have sacrifice sales of property, and we do not have panic when prices are rising.

Further, when prices are rising, there is an incentive among men to use their money in the purchase of property. Money does not remain idle, because it gathers no accretion in value as it does when prices are falling, but suffers an actual shrinkage, and because its investment in productive enterprises holds out the promise of large profits. Consequently, when prices are rising men are anxious to sell their money, which is growing less valuable, and purchase property, which is growing more valuable, money is turned over rapidly and trade is stimulated.

So it cannot be the fear of a depreciated dollar that acts "as a sort of slow and continuous panic all the time, paralyzing energy and depriving industry and intelligence and enterprise of their just rewards." It is the fall in prices, not the fear of higher prices, that is eating into the profits of industry, destroying the incentive to enterprise and paralyzing energy; it is the fall in prices, not the fear of rising prices, that is depriving industry and enterprise of their just rewards, and throwing men into a panic of fear that unites them to act intelligently. In short, it is the presence of an appreciating dollar and falling prices, not the fear of rising prices, that stagnates the industry of the Western world.

This is proven, if proof is needed, by the fact that those countries blessed with a stable measure of value are enjoying unexampled prosperity. It is only the countries of the Western world that are cursed with an appreciating money and falling prices that are subject to a state of semi and continuous panic. And the nations of the Western world have brought this curse upon themselves. Yet we hear the money that breeds this disaster, saps the vitality of the Western world, destroys the profits of industry, undermines the incentive to enterprise and deadens progress spoken of as the "money of civilization." The so-called "money of civilization" is a money of retrogression, not of progress, it is money of the same stamp that, leading to the accumulation of all wealth in the hands of the few and the impoverishment of the many, caused the downfall of Roman civilization and threw Europe into the slough of the dark ages.

We are struggling with a money that stifles enterprise and progress, that breeds panic and disaster. Meanwhile, the silver-using peoples, whom we are wont to despise, advance along the high road to prosperity. And, why? Because they are not hampered with a measure of value that deprives producers of the fruits of their toil. Admittedly they occupy a lower plane of civilization than the Anglo-Saxon race, but, though they occupy a lower plane, they are advancing along the path of progress, advancing in all the material signs of civilization, while the path of the Anglo-Saxon race is one of retrogression. Verily, this retrogression of the peoples who pride themselves on their approach to the acme of civilization speaks ill of their intelligence. Peoples who put a check to their own advancement have yet much to learn; they may learn even at the school of their despised neighbors.

Wittingly or unwittingly, the silver-using peoples have clung to a money that has insured to all producers the fruits of their toil and made it possible for them, without check or hindrance, to march along the road of progress. Wittingly or unwittingly, the gold-using peoples have adopted a money that, through its constant appreciation, has led to a fall in prices that has increased the burden of all debts, deprived producers of the fruits of their toil, and thus put a check to enterprise and progress.

We can not go forward again along the road to a higher civilization until we free ourselves from this hamper of an appreciating dollar. Until we free ourselves from the appreciating dollar and falling prices, we cannot free ourselves from a state of slow and continuous panic, we cannot throw off the paralysis

born of unrequited enterprise that benumbs the activities of our people; we cannot know prosperity.

THREE MONETARY CRAZES.*

FROM Chicago comes a newcomer in the field of economic serial literature. Messrs. Earl B. Smith & Co. have embarked in the venture and the first number of *The New Election Series* (it is by this name the newcomer goes), gives promise of good things to come. Most sightly is the product of the press, but if the typography pleases the eye the contents captivate the mind. It is a man who played his part, and a great part, on the political stage nearly a generation ago—ex-Senator Doolittle, of Wisconsin—old in years, but young in the vigor of his mind, to whom the fortunate reader will be indebted for an interesting and profitable hour.

We have heard a great deal about the silver craze, but those who have written and talked so much about it have overshot the mark. It has remained for ex-Senator Doolittle to tell us just what the silver craze is, or rather was, and to point out just when the world was taken with this peculiar malady. It is not a recent growth, this silver craze; it does not endanger us. Indeed, it has long since come and gone, giving place to a craze much more insidious, much more dangerous, and which now hangs with us—the gold craze. In short, what the world is taken with is not a silver craze, but a gold craze—a craze for gold to the exclusion of everything else as money.

This is what ex-Senator Doolittle points out. But there was a time when a silver craze swept over Europe and threatened to engulf the world. It made its appearance half a century ago and, curiously enough, those who then went silver mad now go gold mad. Back in 1846 the production of gold in the Urals took on a sudden upward start; three years later came the gold discoveries of California, and then of Australia, and thereupon the silver craze, that took its growth with the enlarged gold production of the Urals, became full-fledged.

And what caused the silver craze that upon these discoveries became so contagious with the nations of central Europe? The fear that gold would be cheapened and prices rise. This and nothing else. It was the moneyed interest, everywhere, that became crazed, that wanted to demonetize gold and use silver as the sole standard of money, wanted to use silver to the exclusion of gold just as badly as they now want to use gold. This craze first showed itself in the Netherlands in 1847, not in Belgium in 1851, as Senator Doolittle opines. Then it spread over Europe like a contagion. Austria and the German states succumbed to the craze, but France stood as a bulwark against it. She refused to demonetize gold despite the pleadings of her great economist Chevalier; she gladly took all the gold offered at her mints that other nations derided as cheap and unfit for use as money; she treated gold as the equal of silver, she accepted it at her ratio as of the same value as silver, her people gave silver in exchange for gold at this ratio, and as a result there was no cheap gold as measured by silver. So, France refusing to join in the panic that led other nations to discard gold, the craze for silver spent itself.

But as the silver craze exhausted itself a gold craze arose to take its place. Those designing to cause money to grow dearer by discarding gold and defeated by France's action, turned to gold and urged the discarding of silver. Back in 1867 a monetary conference was called in Paris. The delegate of the United States, Samuel B. Ruggles, impelled by Mr. Sherman, decried bimetallism as an impossibility, and the gold mono-metallic delegates, thus strengthened, prevailed upon the conference to recommend the adoption of gold alone as the standard of value. For four years the recommendations of the conference slept. But in 1871-73 Germany, that had been carried away by the silver craze, was carried away with the gold craze, the Scandinavian nations followed suit, the United States kept step, and France was frightened into following suit. And thus the gold craze spread, and it still goes on spreading.

But there is another craze of which Senator Doolittle speaks. In fact he speaks of it before he calls up the silver and gold crazes. That craze is the greenback craze. But the greenback craze of Senator Doolittle is not the greenback craze as known to our metropolitan press. The craze, the Ex-Senator tells us, was not in the issue of the greenbacks, but in the paying in gold of bonds that we had sold for greenbacks, in paying two dollars where we had borrowed one. This craze we need not follow, but we must

*THREE PHASES OF THE MONEY QUESTION By James R. Doolittle, U S. Senator (Wis.), 1857-1869. Chicago: Earl B. Smith & Co 25c.

caution the reader against one slip of Senator Doolittle. He speaks of the third issue of greenbacks as an issue of \$100,000,000, and of the limitation of the issue of greenbacks to \$400,000,000. As a matter of fact, the last issue authorized, like the first two, was of \$150,000,000, and the limitation of the issue was \$450,000,000. The highest amount outstanding at any time was on January 3, 1864, when it reached \$449,338,902. This slip of Senator Doolittle does not, however, detract from the force of his reasoning any more than does his inclusion of Franklin in Washington's cabinet.

He looks upon the greenback craze, the silver craze, and the gold craze in the way these crazes should be looked upon, and the reader, however well versed in monetary history, cannot fail to profit from a perusal of Senator Doolittle's little essay.

WOMEN'S WAYS.

YOU never can tell when you send a word—
Like an arrow shot from a bow
By an archer blind—be it cruel or kind,
Just where it will chance to go.
It may pierce the breast of your dearest friend,
Tipped with its poison or balm.
To a stranger's heart in life's great mart
It may carry its pain or its calm.
You never can tell what your thoughts will do
In bringing you hate or love;
For thoughts are things, and their airy wings
Are swifter than carrier doves
They follow the law of the universe—
Each thing must create its kind;
And they speed o'er the track to bring you back
Whatever went out from your mind
—Ella Wheeler Wilcox.

Compliments are unsatisfactory soul-victuals.

If Greek legend whispers that the portrait art was discovered by affection when the potter's daughter traced the shadow of her lover's profile on the wall, prosaic research proves that the miniature portrait also owes its origin to tenderness.

When the flower of French knighthood jingled away southward to the Italian wars with Charles VIII, some disconsolate lady, left behind with no defence against regrets and heartache but a needle or a novel, had an inspiration. Why not replace the image of Madonna or patron saint, which pious usage had hung around all Christian throats, by a tiny portrait of him who loved and rode away? A device so simple and so practical attained immediate popularity. There were no lack of skilled miniaturists, and there was a touch of romance in the idea of having the image of the beloved always present, which appealed to a court where gallantry had inherited the language and ideals of chivalry.

In the Government of Smolensk, Russia, there is a large territory, comprising quite a number of prosperous villages, which has long borne and still bears the name of "Woman's Kingdom." Every spring the male population emigrates *en masse* to seek work in the neighboring districts. Then, for many months, the home government is wholly in the hands of women.

Mrs. Patrick Campbell has told a British interviewer that the public does not appreciate the mental and physical wear and tear which an actress undergoes in performing emotional parts. Her own remedy for this exhaustion is to devote herself to the commonplace duties of life and of her own household. Mrs. Campbell confesses that she made a romantic runaway match when she was a mere girl, and that she was the mother of two children before she was 20. She made her professional debut at the Alexander Theatre, in Liverpool, in 1888, after a short career as an amateur.

Lily Devereux Blake suggests as one rule for married happiness that the wife should not always ask the husband where he is going when he goes away, and where he has been when he comes back. And as another the equal division of money, for she claims that one-half of every dollar the husband has belongs in the law to the wife.

Whence came the oft-quoted phrase, "Put in apple-pie order?" A conundrum-like phrase it is, for what order is there in apple pie outside of a restaurant, wherein the order will sometimes bring quince pie? An obliging, if also an imaginative

author, has recently issued a volume on the quaint sayings of early New England, from which is to be gathered an explanation of the phrase. It seems that in Puritan times one Hepzibah Merton was accustomed for her large household to bake two or three dozen apple pies on a Saturday that were to last through the ensuing week as a household supply. These she carefully arranged on a shelf, placing a label on each for the week-days by name, all in orderly row, and woe to the son, daughter or grandchild who should disarrange Mother Hepzibah's apple-pie order. Doubtless for Monday, wash day; Tuesday, ironing day, and Friday as cleaning day—when dust is brushed from one place to fall into another, and things are topsy-turvy, merely to show how disorder differs from order—the pies were larger than for other days, which for household work ranked as *dies non*, and when there was less hunger. Old Aunt Hepzibah's apple-pie order was known to the entire settlement and originated the proverb aforesaid. Apple pie is a peculiar New England invention, and, as we have learned from his biography, Ralph Waldo Emerson was so devoted to the patriotic dish that he would eat the flaky crust and the cinnamoned apple even for breakfast.

A CHAPTER ABOUT CHILDREN.

S AID A, "Whene er I stand between
The letters B and D,
I'm in the midst of all that's BaD,
As you may plainly see!"

"How strange!" said merry, laughing E,
"When I between them am,
I'm tucked up comfortably in BeD,
And happy as a clam."

"It's a quality within ourselves,"
Then mused the letter A,
"And not the place we occupy,
That makes us sad or gay."

Voluntary obedience, not compulsion, is what is wanted, and the parents that are even-tempered, not harsh or unjust, are teaching this lesson most successfully. A mother and father that have not yet learned self-control are not capable of controlling children. It is a burdensome thing to many to lead the child the way it should go, for it is very necessary that the parents follow the same path. We can't preach any more than we live, and the sermons from which the child draws his ideas take place in the home—no teacher or minister can do the parents' work. Your child has a body, mind and heart, all in your keeping. If you do your work well, when life's fitful fever shall have passed for you the memory of your children will go back to you with gratitude that they were sent out in the world with sound bodies, cultivated minds and pure hearts.

Old gentleman (putting a few questions)—"Now, boys—ah—can you tell me what commandment Adam broke when he took the forbidden fruit?"

Small scholar (like a shot)—"Please, sir, th' warn't no commandments, then, sir."

A favorite assertion of the modern trained child's nurse is that no healthy baby cries. If he is well, as he should be, and properly clothed and looked after, he will not cry. But, on the other hand, some medical authorities assert that crying is the chief and best exercise for young children, and one hospital superintendent says that a healthy baby should cry three or four times a day at least and from ten to fifteen minutes at a time.

A minister's little daughter was attending her first church service. She had never seen her father in the pulpit before, and on his entrance there her presence of mind forsook her, and she piped out in a voice expressive of joyful recognition:

"Why, there's my pa up there in that box!"

Avenging propriety swept down on the little maiden, and for a season there was a great calm. But the service was grievously long for such a wee worshipper, and she became very restless, walking up and down the pew and sighing audibly.

"It won't be long, dear," mamma whispered.

Whereupon ensued another brief period of quiet; but it was not to last.

Tired baby nature had reached its utmost limit of endurance, and bye-and-bye, over the quiet listeners, there arose a little voice, clear and plausible and coaxing:

"Isn't you nearly done, papa?"

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE PURITAN IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND. By Ezra Hoyt Byington, D. D. Boston: Roberts Brothers.

The beginnings of our national history are being elucidated by painstaking students in some of the worthiest books that have seen the light during recent years. Some are dry, others almost racy, but all are full of present-day interest, and among the best is this delightful work by Dr. Byington. One significant explanation for its freshness of style is found in the first sentence of the Preface, "this book has had a natural growth." It is, therefore, free from the labored taskwork usually so evident in the books of authors by profession. Dr. Byington worked up the history of William Pynchon, one of the early Puritans, a merchant, who, in 1650, published a famous and learned book (of which only three copies are now known to exist) on the Atonement, and for its heretical protest against the doctrine that the Redeemer "suffered for us those unutterable torments of God's wrath which commonly are called hell torments," the book was solemnly tried, condemned, and publicly burnt. This monograph was the cause of further researches into unfamiliar by-paths of Puritan social life, with the excellent results collected in the present volume, and Dr. Byington says that there is no lack of fresh material for historical explorers. In his admirable introduction, Dr. Alexander McKenzie, of Cambridge, Mass., rightly claims a unique breadth of design in this endeavor to present the Puritan in his actual surroundings, the causes of his Puritanism and emigration from England, and the workings of his inherited mental qualities upon his New World conditions. From the author's simple and dignified presentation of the facts elicited in his studies we are better able than ever to form broader views upon the vexed question of Puritan policy. With this, however, we shall not now deal, preferring to dip liberally into these rich pages for the wherewithal to make a picture of the social life of the Puritans.

Dr. Byington asks the question, Which had most to do in moulding the people of New England, the Pilgrim or the Puritan? We note his answer without discussing it. The earlier historians leaned to the Puritans, who were, in the main, country gentlemen of education, versed in moulding public opinion and who had held their own against the conformists for half a century. The Pilgrims came as exiles, who had been disciplined by adversity in Holland, plain country people, used to farming and manual labor, led by a few higher in rank and of statesmanlike gifts. The Puritan colony grew faster and stronger than the Pilgrim republic, it copied the old world social order; the Pilgrims came nearer to a simple Christian democracy, and Puritan aggressiveness left an abiding mark on posterity. But if the Puritan gave a strong backbone to the new nation, the Pilgrim imbued its heart with the gentler graces which sweeten life.

For the first three years the Plymouth Pilgrims had no cattle; dogs were their only live-stock. They had no ploughs, only the hoe to cultivate the corn fields with. They had to tramp everywhere afoot, or take to boats. They had no preserved meats, no vegetables, no breadstuffs, no tea, coffee, cocoa or milk, only beer, spirits or water to drink. When their families and friends came out two years later they found the pioneers "in a very low condition, many were ragged in apparel and some little better than half naked. . . . The best dish they could present their friends with was a lobster, or a piece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of pure spring water. . . . The long continuance of this diate (!) had somewhat abated ye freshness of their former complexion." Their homes were not imitations of kings' palaces, as in our weaker day. When Governor Bradford possessed thirteen silver spoons his ambition, if he had any, for luxurious living was satisfied. Another rich man of Salem bequeathed to his daughter "two pewter platters and likewise an iron pot." Within twenty years the ministers were freely accorded something more than aristocratic rank. They cultivated goodly farms, drove their carriages, and were the chief dispensers of lavish hospitality. They dressed in flowing coats, knee breeches and silk stockings, silver shoe buckles, cocked hats and powdered wigs. "Are you the person (? parson) who serves here?" asked a stranger of the minister at Rowley. "I am, sir, the person who rules here." They enjoyed large stipends, as the whole parish found it advantageous, spiritually and materially, to attend Meeting regularly and never fall behind with their pew rents. The food was plain, but plentiful, and everybody drank imported wines and spirits freely, besides home-brewed cider. A century later intoxicants came so commonly

into use that "Parson Smith speaks of an ordination at New Gloucester as a 'jolly ordination, at which we lost sight of decorum.'" Not until the year 1813 did a religious Association, that of Cumberland, pass a vote "that there be no ardent spirits used by the Association as a body in future." On the other hand, there are testimonies to the effect that among the early colonists, drunkenness, profane swearing, beggary and Sabbath breaking were quite rare.

Their places of worship were called meeting-houses, not, as we naturally suppose, because they met each other in them, but because they went there to meet the Lord and receive His blessing. These places were designed to be in extreme contrast to the imposing symbolical architecture of the Popish and other churches. The interiors of the first meeting-houses were square, a high pulpit looking down upon plain benches, not pews, men sitting to the preacher's left, women to the right. Occasionally a square six feet of the floor was rented to some rich man who had exclusive notions, and so the pew institution gradually grew. As time went on and social distinctions intensified, worshippers were "seated according to their pay," and later days saw the "slaves' gallery." For a hundred and fifty years these simple souls worshipped through all the rigors of New England winters without candles, fires, or any sort of heat. To-day in Holland, on Sundays, can be seen the servants carrying lighted charcoal stove-stools to place in the pew of their mistress, who usually spreads her skirt over hers as the males place their feet on theirs, and truly the great chilly edifices strike cold as the tomb. Such indulgences to delicate health were despised by the grim Fathers. They were fined for staying from service, they were fined twelve pence if on cold mornings they smoked their pipes within a two-mile radius of meeting. Weekday work had to cease at three on Saturday afternoons in order that the rest of the day might be devoted to teaching the children their catechism and for adults to prepare for Sabbath. Service began at nine in the morning, the congregation being called by drum instead of bell. The preacher was supposed to set his hour-glass running when he gave out his text, and stop when it had run out, but he sometimes turned it up again and the people had to enjoy a second, and sometimes even a third hour of mighty preaching. Sermons were sermons then, their hearers had ears to hear, and an enviable mental digestion. The minister was a Boanerges, who thundered decrees not to be questioned by the appalled pew-folk he "ruled." But sometimes he met more than his match.

The "people called in scorn Quakers," as Barclay phrases it, were a bushful of thorns in the rigid soul of the autocratic Puritan divine. Among his Blue Laws, which forbade domestic work, even cooking, and even parent kissing child, on Sundays, one decreed that no food or lodging should be offered to "a Quaker, or other heretic." They were classed with witches as perils to the Puritanical order, and four, at least, were deliberately put to death in Massachusetts. About sixty in all were fined, imprisoned, or scourged in those two small colonies, to keep up with larger England, where some four hundred died in prison and four thousand suffered persecution. Heavy fines were exacted from those who went to a Quaker meeting, multiplied four-fold if they made addresses. Any Quaker could be, and was, put in the stocks or cage, their books and horses seized, and themselves banished, when not put to death. Their offence was disorderliness in their practices, a construction which was supposed not to be an interference with their religious liberty. The Pilgrims and Puritans had suffered persecution themselves, and there is just enough of original sin lingering in the average man at any given period to give him keen pleasure in passing on to some weaker creature, or dog, the little tyrannies he himself has had to endure from his own tyrants. The Quaker was legislated out of the colony as an intruder, he was graciously told he might leave with a whole skin if only he would depart. He elected to stay, happily for the enlightenment of the rising generation, and the martyrdom of those four brave souls made surer the glory of the after-day and easier the task of the proclaimers of an independence inferior to theirs, as the physical is inferior to the spiritual. Let it stand to the credit of these same bigoted Puritans, strange creatures of strange times as they were, that they brought over from the estimable Hollander their system of common schools. The people of that little sea-girt land were the only people who could point to towns where every child went to school and where most of the grown up could read and write. Within five years of their embarkation the Pilgrims had established the public schools which are justly our pride and a prime cause of our greatness as a nation.

This must end our notice of a book which throbs with living interest in every page. The only point, a minor one, which pro-

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vokes critical remark is the author's use, twice in the same page, of the first line of the couplet,

"A man convinced against his will
Is of the same opinion still."

This is not only a misquotation (Dr. Byington does not quote the whole, but it seems to be implied), but an absurdity. A man may be convinced against his will, but if so, he cannot possibly be of the same opinion as before. Samuel Butler had too clear a head to utter nonsense like this. A reference to his "Hudibras" will show that he wrote this,

"He that complies against his will
Is of the same opinion still,"

which is quite another thing, and a grand hedge for hypocrites to hide behind.

A POPULAR HANDBOOK OF THE ORNITHOLOGY OF EASTERN NORTH AMERICA. By Thomas Nuttall. Second Revised and Annotated Edition by Montague Chamberlain. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 2 vols.; \$7.50.

This new edition of Nuttall's Ornithology will be welcomed with pleasure and satisfaction by innumerable bird-lovers. For a long time a quiet search for stray copies of the old editions has gone on in the old-book stores, and the student who chanced upon a copy of either volume of the work has felt himself lucky indeed.

Since his "Manual" first appeared in 1832-34, it being the first handbook published on American ornithology, Thomas Nuttall, the English-American botanist and student of Nature, has held a prominent place among American ornithologists. His accurate and delightful descriptions, his poetic touch, his keen appreciation and depiction of the beautiful, and, above all, his rare ability to express in words and syllables the most varied and difficult bird-songs, give to his writings a charm and value distinctly their own.

In the present edition, revised and annotated by Montague Chamberlain, the original text is preserved, corrected in the light of present knowledge, and the descriptions of the coloration of the different species rewritten in brief form. Mr. Chamberlain has also inserted notes covering later information on the distribution and habits of the species, and brief accounts of their nests and eggs. New illustrations have been substituted for most of the crude wood-cuts in the original work, with many additional introduced, adding materially to the value of the book. The full-length colored figures, 105 in all, are accurately drawn in positions exceptionally true to the more characteristic attitudes of the birds portrayed, the coloring being carefully and beautifully done, and, with two or three exceptions, remarkably true to life. Altogether, the work is the best handbook on the field ornithology of Eastern North America—valuable to the student, and particularly well adapted to meet the wants and requirements of the beginner. But, beyond these, it is just the book for those who desire to become even casually acquainted with some of their feathered neighbors; and were it but generally known what an ever-present source of pleasure and interest our birds are, there would be an equally general endeavor to know them better.

And here let it be remarked that unremitting application to everyday occupations and duties, necessary as they are, tends to a narrowing of the mind and destruction of outside interest, which is neither healthy to mind or body, nor conducive to the best results from the serious work of life. Diversity of thought and interest and occupation is essential to the making of a broad man or woman, and nothing gives the mind so broad a grasp as contemplation of Nature and her workings. Considering she is ever present about us, in one form or another, it is remarkable that the average person gives so little attention to natural objects, and is, as a result, ignorant of much that would afford constant interest and that recreation of mind and body which is often sought elsewhere in vain. Of all the variety offered by Nature, nothing is more eminently fitted to arouse interest than the birds, always about in varying number and kind, and so easily studied that the most superficial observation of them and their habits amply rewards us. Here we have a diversion always ready at hand if only we will avail of it. The head of one of the largest and best-known shipyards in the world is a great lover of birds, and finds in them a constant source of recreation. Nothing, he says, so effectually and completely releases his mind from the constant strain of his business as a half hour in the woods with the warblers and thrushes.

To return to Nuttall from this digression, we will end with a short quotation from his description of the world-renowned

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HOUSEHOLD ECONOMICS. By Helen Campbell. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. \$1.50.

These are twelve lectures delivered by the author in the Wisconsin University School of Economics, and most worthily do they represent the movement for lifting Domestic Science into its proper place in university systems. They form a powerful plea for the college-bred woman's claim to take up the work of home-reform, using the word in its most comprehensive sense, a work peculiarly within their natural sphere, and which has not been, perhaps cannot be, fulfilled by men. It is a departure in a direction which the most conservative grudge of women's public ambitions cannot but wish them good speed. The shorter-sighted "new woman" who sillily sneers at the home sphere as too small for her liberated genius will find her proper rebuke and corrective in this capital book. See how woman's native sphere—pardon the repetition of a point which needs emphasizing nowadays—expands itself when viewed by the deep-seeing eye of a wise woman, a type much rarer than the knowing sort. The opening lecture examines the relations of household economics—not economies—to the well-being of the family, leading up to a well-considered discourse upon the house, its influence upon the mind as well as the body of the dweller in it, and this takes in the whole scheme of its structure, sanitary qualities, decoration and general adaption to healthy comfort. Then follow chapters on food and cookery, house cleaning and general service, fortified with references to the best books upon each subject, putting the reader in the way of pursuing this larger education in any direction. Too high praise is scarcely possible for the masterly manner and thorough grasp of fact and sound philosophy which give these lectures their strength and attractiveness. It is complimentary grumbling to hint that the very fullness of the book may make it seem harder to read than it is, but its comprehensiveness is remarkable, and tells of downright hard work in a wide range of research. Here and there it invites criticism, but is all the better for that, though the proof correcting should have prevented the funny blunder on page 161, where we read that "vegetarianism is generally understood to exclude all mineral products," namely, "milk, eggs, butter and cheese." As animal products these are admissible under the strict rule, because they do not involve destruction of life. But what about the poor little mites in cheese?

Low Rates to Washington for the Inauguration.

The B. & O. R. R. will sell round-trip tickets to Washington, D. C., from all stations on its lines east of the Ohio River, for all trains March 1, 2, 3, and all trains on the morning of the 4th that reach Washington not later than noon, at rate of two cents per mile in each direction, valid for return journey until March 8th, inclusive. The rate from New York will be \$8.00

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and correspondingly low rates from other stations.—*Advt.*

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ABOUT BOOKS AND WRITERS.

Miss Jennie Thornley Clarke, whose collection of "Songs of the South" was reviewed in these columns a few weeks ago, writes to say that the poem entitled "The Long Ago," ascribed in her book to Philo Henderson, is not a Southern song at all, having been taken by mistake from "Songs of Yesterday," written by Benjamin F. Taylor, of Chicago. We omitted in our review to point out that Miss Clarke credits the famous "All Quiet on the Potomac To-Night" to Lamar Fontaine. This is done on page 101, but in the biographical notes, on page 321, she states that while Fontaine "is believed" to have written the poem, "it is claimed by Mrs. Ethel Lynn Beers, of New York, and was first published in *Harper's Weekly*." Stedman's Library of American Literature states authoritatively that it was by Mrs. Ethelinda Elliott Beers, born 1827, in Goshen, N. Y., and died in Orange, N. J., 1879. This should have been known to Miss Clarke, the compiler; Joel Chandler Harris, sponsor for the book, and to Lippincott's, who published it.

**

Pennsylvania University has the honor of having carried ancient history as far back as at least six thousand years B. C. The Babylonian researches of Mr. I. H. Haynes, Dr. Peters, the late Dr. Meyer, and Prof. Hilprecht, historian of the party, prove that the Temple of Bel near Nippur must have been founded about that distant date, and enough rude writings have been found which point to a still earlier civilization. These men labored for thirty-four months amid stifling sand storms, in malarious swamps thronged with insects that stung all the time, not to mention the terrors of cholera and Arab marauders, and a temperature of 120 degrees in the shade. Truly, scholarship hath its heroes no less than war.

**

A most wholesome rebuke is given by Mr. Henry Carey Baird, of Philadelphia, to a silly little crankery which badly needs squashing. Class divisions may be good or bad, but whether the one or other, there is a tendency nowadays to push them beyond the verge of the ridiculous, and the New York *Critic* has belittled itself and the caste it seeks to glorify by inviting Authors and Publishers (beguiling them into becoming self-Advertisers) to join in one magnificent mammoth Manifesto in ratification of the latest sweet thing in Arbitration frilligigs. Embryo statesmen skirted in the flowery togas of amateur poetasters proudly hop on to the little pedestal thus offered them, and from its eminence proclaim their august Approval of the inchoate thing, their bosoms heaving with patriotic eructations, their eyes expanding at the fore-view of an expanding English market for their wares. And then to think that Mr. Baird should illuminate the tableau with this electric beam from his strong common-sense Diogenes lantern!

**

The fifty or sixty replies from more nobodies than somebodies form a beautiful but too pappy sentimental mush, to which Mr. Baird's sturdy Americanism comes as a welcome change of dish. The *Critic* prints it as follows:

"The only publisher who opposes arbitration is the head of the firm of Henry Carey Baird & Co., who, after calling England 'the great bully, pirate and robber of the nineteenth century,' proceeds to say, ('as an American Citizen') :—

"Let the authors and publishers attend to their respective businesses, and let the American people generally decide this question as to whether we are to submit ourselves to the whims or fears of the king of a petty nation, surrounded as he is by powerful emperors, kings and other tyrants. As American citizens, let these authors and publishers be heard from, but not as organized in a distinct class, supposed to possess unusual capacity for deciding this momentous issue; for they do not possess this peculiar qualification, and have no more right to be heard than the farmers, the mechanics, the artisans and the laborers of the country.' The joke of the thing is that the only persons of any weight whose replies are published are careful to say that their approval is for the arbitration principle, and not by any means for the Treaty as it stands. There is no opposition to 'arbitration' in Mr. Baird's letter.

**

Mr. Crawford is the latest addition to the list of ambitious novelists who find their stories spell failure when transplanted to the stage. One of these days novelists of the Crawford school will find their unhealthy foreign fiction a market failure, too. It's a miserable thing that this sort of alien dross should outsell native gold, just because it has the alien odor and moral tarnish.

The London papers have been discussing the effect of adverse critiques upon the selling power of books. The matter is too complex for any such superficial judgment. Everything turns upon the nature of the condemned book and the spirit of the reviewer. A good many publishers hold, and with good reason, that a well-written, slashing review, pays the trade better than a rich rose-tinted notice. No doubt, but probably neither of these is an honest review. There is so much log-rolling, clique conspiring and petty jealousy in the literary papers and departments that the public shrewdly suspect there is some game being worked when critiques are pitched in either too high or too low a key, and they are not very far wrong in the main.

**

There are a few publishing houses of note whose people make it their business to thrust mediocre writers upon the unsuspecting and long-suffering public. A great, or at least a popular humorist dies, forthwith a feeble imitation article is got up and boomed as the only true apostolic successor of the departed genius. A popular artist-author dies; "what of that?" chuckles the trader in authors; "now is my chance, here is another of the same!" So we can see, if we look beneath the surface, a

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complete outfit of literary producers, hard at work imitating their betters at command of their showmen, honestly enough, no doubt, but the booming business is very far from being disinterested. It accounts for the intellectual and artistic poverty that has marked the mass of our literary output for a long time.

**

Mrs. S. T. Pickard, niece of the poet Whittier, is in Amesbury, caring for the poet's estate. The Whittier portraits and a portion of the furnishings have been removed to the Pickards' home, where they will be cared for. Before removing anything, the location of portraits, pictures and furniture was carefully indexed for the benefit of any changes which may be made whereby the home may become permanently a Whittier memorial, so that they can be restored as in Mr. Whittier's days of occupancy. The library has not been disturbed, only replaced as the books were catalogued, and will remain in its every detail as the poet left it.

**

The Patria Club offers a prize of \$50 for the best kindergarten exercise for teaching patriotism. Particulars regarding the competition may be obtained from Mr. J. Winthrop Hageman, Riverdale, New York City.

Stop-over Privilege at Washington.

A ten-day stop-over at Washington, D. C., is now granted on all through tickets between the East and West, via Baltimore & Ohio R. R. Stop-over will also be granted on the return journey made on round-trip tickets, within the final limit of such tickets, but not exceeding ten days. Passengers will deposit their tickets with the Ticket Agent at B. & O. R. R. Station in Washington, who will retain them until the journey is to be resumed, when they will be made good for continuous passage to destination by extension or exchange. This arrangement will doubtless be greatly appreciated by the travelling public, because it will permit the holders of through tickets to make a brief visit to the National Capital without additional outlay for railroad fare.—*Advt.*

A CORRESPONDENT SETS HIMSELF STRAIGHT.

To the Editor of THE AMERICAN:

DEAR SIR:—It is a maxim of law "that the seeker after justice must come into court with clean hands," and it appears to me that good morals require everyone, either in or out of court, to do the same in every relation of life.

Those who are advocating bimetallism are doing so, because they believe in the absolute and eternal justice of the cause, and it becomes them ill, therefore, to misrepresent anyone. The Bible quotation, "Do not evil that good may come," applies with greater force to him who relies entirely upon the justice of his case, than to anyone else.

Believing this, I want to correct an error I unintentionally made, in a letter from me, published in your issue of Jan. 23d.

One of the gentlemen, who visited Indianapolis as a delegate to the "Monetary Convention," and whom I designated as a lawyer, I have since learned, has been for many years, and is yet connected with the Pennsylvania Steel Company, as one of its Board of Directors, and as a member of the executive committee of the board. This being a productive industry qualifies him, in my opinion, as a business man of the kind who should be heard in connection with monetary reforms. I do not agree with his "gold standard" ideas, and cannot understand how as able a man, as everybody acknowledges him to be, can possibly arrive at the conclusions he has; but this does not alter the fact that I have done him an injustice, and it is to set myself right that I desire this correction made.

Philadelphia, February 6, 1897. JNO. W. CAMPION.

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